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til tel from (*Sesamum indicum*). Occasionally *kusum tel* from *Sleichera trijuga*. 262

Vegetables, in season and according to price: Greens of various types called *sags*. These are cooked like spinach and similar greens. Egg plant; pumpkin; potato; yams; onion; corn; okra; jungle roots and leaves. These are usually cut into bits and [252] cooked together in water to make a thick soup, which is flavoured with spices and poured over the rice, or eaten with the *chapatis*.

Fruits in season: The common fruits such as mango, custard apple, guava, jack-fruit. The forest fruits such as those belonging to the fig types: *Jitia Pipar* (*Ficus religiosa*); *Bar* (*Ficus Bengalensis*); *Dumbar* (*Ficus glomerata*). Also the *Jamun* (*Eugenia jambolana*); *Kusum* (*Sleichera trijuga*); the *Bel* (*Aegle marmelos*); the *Khajur*, the fruit of the wild date palm (*Phoenix sylvestris*); the *Ber* (*Zizyphus jujuba*).

Dairy Products: Milk, clarified butter (*ghi*), milk curds.

Meats: Chicken, goat, mutton, buck, hare, pork, fish.

Condiments include salt, *chatnies* made from fruits such as the mango or the tamarind, and the "seven spices," which include *khaskhas*, from poppy heads; *jira*, cummin seed; *haldi*, turmeric; *rai*, mustard; *nariyal*, cocoanut; *gol mirch*, pepper; *lahasun*, garlic; *lal mirch*, red chillis. 263

Sweet spices used include *ilachi*, cardamom; *long*, clove; *darchini*, cinnamon.

The general preparation of the chief dishes used by Kols may be briefly described as follows. They are arranged according to ingredients. Certain of them have been borrowed from their Hindu neighbours. 252 [171]

Chapatis. Whole wheat flour is used together with a little salt. The whole is moistened with hot water and made into a dough which must be well mixed before it is rolled or patted into a pancake. This is cooked on a hot fry-pan until well browned. It must often be turned in the process.

Puris are a very special dish and are often offered to the deity at the time of religious worship. There are many kinds of *puris* possible. A *puri* is essentially a *chapati* fried in clarified butter. Usually white flour is used, and occasionally some *dal* or shortening is mixed in.

Rice (*Chawal*). The cheaper rice is simply boiled with water until the grains are well done. Indian rice, when properly cooked does not stick, but the grains are flaky. The rice water is poured off and is often used as a gruel.

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764 that of a woman her glass bangles are broken and her metallic jewellery removed. The breaking of the glass bangles is a symbol of the dissolution of her marriage. From many enquiries it appears that neither food, coins or iron is put into the mouth of the deceased.

Up to this point it seems that the bodies of men and women are 766 treated alike, except that persons of corresponding sex make them 843 ready. Only in rare cases a trace was found which indicated that there is the belief that the soul of the pregnant woman might become [716] an evil spirit called a *churel*; preparations for burial of such women seemed to be uniformly the same as when the woman is not with child. Only once in scores of burials was there any indication that the pregnant woman was cut open after her death and the fœtus removed and buried with her. This, if ever done among the Kols, is now a rare thing with them.

Digging the Grave. In the meantime the grave is being made 764 ready. The spot where it is to be dug must first be "purchased." This is done by one of the relatives who, when the place has been decided on, strikes the ground five times with his *phaora* or mattock. Two pice are then laid down on the ground and the digging proceeds. It is proper for the chief male mourner to break the first earth at the spot agreed upon. He may take out five or seven clods and thereafter relatives or friends lend a hand and complete the task. The grave is dug in a north-south line, and is about six feet long, three feet wide and four feet deep. "Chest deep" is the rule. No special implements are used in digging nor are the ones used considered unclean afterwards. When the grave has been dug there are still things which must be done before the body can be laid in it. One of the relatives sprinkles a little salt on the bottom of the grave. Usually, though, a cloth is [263] laid in first, using the one which was thrown over the body after death, or the blanket on which he died, and the salt is sprinkled over this. The body is now lowered into the grave. One or two men enter the grave, the body is passed down to them and they place it in its proper position.

In the case of a woman she is buried flat on her back, face upwards, having her arms stretched by her side with the palms up. [823] Male corpses are laid face downwards with the hands folded behind over the buttocks, palms upwards. In both cases the head is to the north.[1] After the body is properly placed it is covered with another

[1] The direction in which the body is placed in the grave varies considerably among primitive tribes. The Murhas have the head to the south; the Birhors likewise. The Hill Bhuiyas are laid on the left side with the head to the south and face to the west. The Munda tribes, Kharias, Hos and Santals bury their dead with the head north. Bodding states that the Santals burn with the head south. (*Census of India*, 1931; 1 : 3, p. 102). Elwin finds that the Baigas bury with the head south. (*The Baigas*, p. 296).

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764 the body or the grave. After that he should not look back but go straight on towards the village.

Before the mourners depart there are certain other things that should be done. The two pice previously mentioned should be laid at the northern end of the grave. These the Basor or some other low caste Hindu present will remove shortly afterwards. Some salt and some mustard seeds are also scattered over the grave. Salt is generally regarded as a protective and devil-scarer, while the mustard protects from evil spirits who are kept so busy picking up the tiny seeds that they have no time to think of evil. Sometimes a little milk and some millet seed are also scattered over the grave. Milk is an offering to Mother Earth.

It is not unusual to keep a fire burning over the place where the head is resting, though this is not the general custom. Such a fire should burn at least two days. This is managed by starting a fire and placing upon it two logs which keep on burning slowly for the next few days. Ordinarily the Kol puts no definite marker on the grave. The stones laid on top help to keep him from digging a new grave where an old was dug; yet it has been reported that in digging a new grave they have often come upon bones. Such a place is covered up and a new start made.

CREMATION. It was noted previously that the question whether a body should be burned or buried is, according to Kols, largely an economic one. Under modern conditions, especially near cities, where wood is scarce and expensive a cremation costs at least Rs. 5 and can hardly be afforded. Even then cremation is considered the most satisfactory method as it gives a greater freedom to the spirit. As long as the skeleton remains undecomposed in the grave, the spirit, if reborn into this world, will have to take some form like his previous one. If, however, the body is burnt and the bones largely consumed, the spirit is free to be reborn into anything else. There are other considerations in the mind of the Kol: children and unmarried young folk should always be buried, as should people dying from diseases such as leprosy, plague and smallpox. One dying of smallpox should on no condition be burned.

If the method of cremation is decided upon, the making ready of the body for this type of disposal is essentially the same as described above in the preparation for burial. Upon arrival at the *ghat*, the funeral pyre, rather than the grave, is prepared. In most cases the wood is purchased, although it is the custom for friends and relatives to bring bits of wood. Cow dung cakes may also be added. Ordinarily

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171 examples are current among low caste Hindus and do not represent
789 the more polished type to be found higher up.
776

Milk. The use of milk has been mentioned in connection with
272 the magic circle. The good spirits like it, and certain evil spirits are
776 passionately fond of it. Milk is scattered over the ashes after the
782 funeral pyre has burnt down. Milk propitiates Nag, the serpent god.
789

Names. Great care should be exercised in the selection and use
551 of names, as they become a part of one's personality. A good name
789 is also attractive to evil spirits, and if the spirits come to know that a certain child has such a name they may make an attack on the innocent thing. Therefore, call the child by an evil name such as 'fly', 'filth', 'one-eyed', and the spirits will not condescend to notice him.
[754] Such names protect in another manner as well. If one gets possession of the name of someone—his real name—he may, through the charms of black magic, work harm to the person concerned. Therefore the child's true name should never be known to people lest they should work ill with it. The use of magic on a false name is ineffective and no harm can come to one.

789 *Noises* of various types are demon-scarers for they dislike noise;
[825] hence the beating of drums, the occasional fireworks and other devices, by which loud noises are produced when necessary.

Nuts and Seeds of various kinds are useful. Many Kol children
789 have a *ghata* nut (*Ziziphys xylopyrus?*) tied to a string which is hung
824 somewhere about the person, often on the wrist. Mustard seeds are freely sprinkled about if spirits are expected, and, as in the case of limes, distract their attention. They are scattered round the place where a body is burnt. Black *urad* pulse (*Phaseolus radiatus*) is often
[585] used on similar occasions. The *supari* nut (*Areca catechu*) is placed below the sacred pole in the marriage booth and under the foundation stone of the house. These are in this manner protected from evil.

789 *Salt* has its magic use among the Kols. It has a preservative
263 power, and this, together with its power over demons, accounts for its being scattered over the place where the dead have been cremated.
[765] It should not be put into the food during the period of mourning after a death in the home, and the chief mourner should not use it for a year.

755 *Scape Animals.* Among Kols there is a belief that an evil spirit
787 resident in a man may be transferred to an animal and the man thus freed. It is not unusual to bring a man believed to be possessed of
825 a spirit before the shrine together with a chicken or goat, usually the
782 former. The *panda* invokes Khermai amid singing and drumming, or mostly drumming, and there may be a *bura* along with it. Under

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spirits or goddesses. It has been noted that the mango branch plays an important part in wedding functions. It was also noted that in building the wedding booth Kols ought to use, if possible, wood from the *saleh* tree (*Boswellia serrata*) both for the main supports of the *marhwa* and for the sacred pole, the *magrohan*. The consensus of opinion is that for the latter the *saleh* is absolutely indispensable.

The *tulasi* plant (*Ocymum sanctum*) is found beside Kol shrines and in the courtyards of their houses. It should be watered daily and its leaves are said to have certain medicinal qualities, being especially effective in fevers. Tulasi was once a woman who engaged in religious austerities for a long time and at last dared to ask to become a wife of Vishnu. For this presumption Tulasi was cursed by Lakshmi the wife of Vishnu, and was turned into this plant. Vishnu comforted her by promising to be near her in the form of a *salagrama* stone. So they are often associated in worship and even in Kol shrines a *salagrama* stone is usually found close to the *tulasi* plant. The leaf is highly scented and a bit is often broken off by Kols and eaten with their food. During the evening hours it is worshipped by having a small *dip* lighted before it.

Dead trees are generally feared as the death of a tree is most certainly due to an evil spirit's influence and a *churel* often kills a tree to make a residence for herself.

MARRIAGE OF TREES. The Kols have a ceremony for the marriage of trees. The mango tree is the one usually married and this should be done at the time it first begins to bear fruit. Unless such a tree has been married no adult should eat of the fruit, although a child may do so. There are at least two methods of marrying trees, both of which require the Brahmin priest. In the first instance a mango tree should be married to a tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indicus*). This tree may be near at hand, or even some distance from the mango tree. The ceremony appears to consist in having a married couple wind a cotton thread coloured with *haldi* seven times around the tree. They should move about the tree in a clockwise direction and as they do this the Brahmin recites sacred texts. First the mango tree is wound then the tamarind; if they are close enough together the thread may be stretched from one to the other. It is not unusual to find a mango and a tamarind tree planted close by. Many of the features of the regular wedding are incorporated, and following the function there is a feast.

In the second instance a small wooden peg, variously coloured, takes the place of the tamarind tree. This may be made out of tama-